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ABSTRACT

A study examined the quest for social equity by one adult education institution in New Zealand. It placed social equity in the wider context of recent developments in New Zealand society and explored models for conceptualizing social change. These models included the adaptive framework, helping/coping strategies, and allocation policies. A social change model advanced by Law and Sissons (1985), also explored, includes four essential systematically interrelated elements: collective empowerment, access for the oppressed, control by participants, and a holistic curriculum. A program devised with and for Maori (indigenous) people is then "tested" against these models. The study concludes that although the framework in which the program is offered appears limited in terms of potentiality for social change, the program may still have transformative properties. (43 references) (Author/KC)

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Abstract

This paper examines the quest for social equity by one adult education institution in New Zealand. It places social equity in the wider context of recent developments in New Zealand society and explores models for conceptualising social change. A program devised with and for Maori (indigenous) people is then "tested" against these models. The author concludes that while the framework in which the program is offered appears limited in terms of potentiality for social change, the program may still have transformative properties.

Introduction

In New Zealand the issue of social equity is no longer hidden in the files of bureaucrats; rather it is subjected regularly to public scrutiny through the mass media. Over the past six years, the Fourth Labour Government "hardwired" equity policies into its social, economic and educational reforms. This has forced New Zealanders, long proud of their egalitarian heritage, to squarely face the reality of increasing social inequalities and to demonstrate a commitment to action to reduce them. Education has encountered dramatic administrative changes in the name of "efficiency", "effectiveness" and "accountability" yet simultaneously has been charged with implementing equity provisions for women, Maori people, those from "disadvantaged" cultural backgrounds, "working people", the aged and the disabled.

Where has adult and continuing education been during these times of major changes in New Zealand society? What has been its commitment to implementing change towards a more equitable society? The purpose of this paper is to begin to respond to those questions by tracing and analysing the development of one institution's attempt to provide a targetted, equity driven, adult education program. The paper opens with a discussion of social equity in the context of New Zealand society. It then suggests a theoretical framework within which adult education for social change can be evaluated. Against this backdrop, the practical tensions and contradictions inherent in mainstream practice are described and analysed. Out of this analysis, the paper raises a number of issues for ongoing debate with respect to adult education and its responsibility to promote social equity.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Michael Law, Director of the Centre for Trade Union & Labour Studies at the University of Waikato, in the preparation of this paper.

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highlights how education generally tends to reproduce the economic, social, and cultural relations within a society which serve to perpetuate inequalities. In recent years this debate has moved on, but the underlying notion of social reproduction still remains.

In mainstream adult education literature a limited, but growing attention has been afforded to "social transformation". Two main streams of thinking and practice can be identified. The first has its roots in the British and Western European neo-Marxist and social democratic traditions with their focus on the "historic" role of the labor movement. The second focuses on the emancipatory tradition associated with Paulo Freire (1970). In North America, it is the second of these that has had the greater influence on contemporary thinking, notwithstanding some cross-fertilisation. This relative neglect of radical social philosophies of adult education is hardly surprising, given the difficult questions it poses for practitioners who work out of a consensual-functionalist view of adult education in society.

In the early to mid-1980s, Michael Law and Linda Sissons suggested useful ways of analyzing mainstream adult education and from there thinking about radical alternatives. Briefly, their analytical framework (Sissons & Law, 1982) divides mainstream provision into three ideologically grounded, adaptive categories:

1. The adaptive framework
In this upward mobility model an assumption is made that an individual's status and income is a result of educational attainment. In a meritocracy the institution need only remove barriers to maximise access and participation for individuals. The demand for equality of educational opportunity implies the provision of second chance education to all people. As Sissons and Law comment "this approach runs the risk of severing the connection between the political nature of the social problem and the individual who presents problems" (1982, p.58).

2. Helping/Coping Strategies
In this model the line between continuing education and social work becomes blurred. Essentially, individuals are expected to adapt to the vissitudes of life, to take charge of their crises. It is a compelling model since individuals need to seek "help" while institutions are only too willing to place "bums on seats" in a number crunching, increasingly user-pays environment. The individualization of failure or sickness renders the client dependent on the provider; left unchallenged are the social/economic structures which render people "in need of help" or "sick".

3. Allocation Policies
This model, which referred initially to the Nordic policies outlined by Robert Hoghielm and Kjell Rubenson (1980), works on the basis that the allocation of resources is made to meet the perceived needs of specific target groups (such as Maori or women). Two assumptions undergird this model:
i) participation in adult education should create resources;
ii) those with low resources should be recruited as a target.
A good deal of adult literacy and basic education work is aligned with the allocatory approach. What remains unsaid in this model is who it is who defines the "need" and who holds the power.

In later work, Law and Sissons (1985a; 1985b) continue their critique of "adaptive" education and advance a conceptual framework for thinking about adult education for (radical) social change. Their analysis includes a critique of the reluctance of adult educators to locate the individual or adaptive behaviour in a social context. Historically, they argue adult education has suffered from "social amnesia" (Jacoby, 1975) so that its historical, social and philosophical foundations have tended to be presented within an equilibrium framework. Thus, there has persisted an abiding faith in the possibility of reform within the existing paradigm.

What then are the characteristics of a liberating (adult) education? Drawing upon their own roots in the British-New Zealand tradition, the work of Paulo Freire and the work of central European "renaissance Marxists", principally Agnes Heller, Law and Sissons offer a new synthesis. In their work from the mid-1980s, they point to the importance of educators' recognising a problem's social dimensions in order to effect a social solution. Adult educators should work towards the resolution of social issues in the spirit of Freire's (1970) "educational projects"; to capture the cognitive dimensions of liberating education, to act out of and subsequent to reflection.

The social change model advanced by Law and Sissons (1985a; 1985b) includes four essential systematically inter-related elements:
Goal - Collective empowerment which is action oriented.
Access - For the economically, culturally, socially and educationally oppressed.
Control - Participant decision-making within the context of a co-operative target group pursuing collective goals and methods.
Curriculum - Holistic, incorporating an "historical commitment" and comprising a skills development/education mix oriented towards action for social change.

It is against this contextual and theoretical backdrop that I propose to examine the development of the Certificate in Maori Studies at the University of Waikato. While I acknowledge the currency and cogency of Law and Sissons' model for radical social change adult education, I intend to suggest, in respect to social equity, that there may be alternative orientations to programming which might also enhance the possibilities for achieving this social objective.

Universities in the Context of Adult and Continuing Education in New Zealand.

(a) Policy Developments During 1975-1990

The belief that adult education could help equalise educational opportunity or provide adults with a second chance has been strong in New Zealand adult education circles (Boshier, 1980). Within universities, for example, the main issue has been identified as access. Hence, for universities open entry was supported and an expansion in the activities of university extension departments [4] was deemed appropriate.

From the mid 1970s there was a rapid expansion of adult education opportunities in what was a benign economic climate. Charlie Herbert (1982) pointed to a groundswell of public interest in education beyond the school, exemplified by the establishment of the first community colleges, community education services [5], trials in secondary schools for extension classes, the glimmer of the Rural Education Activity Programmes [6], and the strengthening of the National Council of Adult Education [7].

But by 1981, when the National Government was trimming back its expenditure in response to the oil crises, adult education was among the first to face harsh realities. Much time was spent in political action by adult educators, especially through the New Zealand Association for Community and Continuing Education [8], to hold on to existing resources.

After the change in Government in 1984, the significant statement to emerge was the "Stella Maris Document" or the policy direction statement from the field. This document represents the clearest overt statement on social equity within adult education yet to be published in New Zealand. In a letter to the Minister of Education, John Wise, the convenor of the conferences associated with the report, states:

> A feature of the document is the concern of all who have been involved to focus attention on a priority group of New Zealanders, those in low wage and benefit dependent households and people in other low income situations. In discussing co-ordination communication and provision of adult education, those at various gatherings were conscious of the limited range of interests represented and of the urgent need to provide new, effective avenues of communication for those who are not at present being heard.

Within the document itself the field upholds the centrality of the 1976 UNESCO Recommendation on Adult Education. Amid the economically and socially vulnerable groups of society, the report specifies those who should receive special attention:

> Within this group, Maori, people with Pacific origins, women, young people, the disabled and those in isolated rural areas are especially vulnerable (p.2)

It states that the redressing of social inequities will be in the context of education which enables "people to understand the personal, economic, social and political realities of their lives" (p.3).

In the same year, a report, issued by the now depleted National Council of Adult Education (1985) through its Lifelong Learning Task Force, echoed the recommendations of the Stella Maris initiative. However, the Task Force was inundated with divergent proposals on how social equity might operate in practice. A lack of clear consensus prevented immediate action and rendered the report's deliberations innocuous.

Since the 1985 documents another report, dubbed the "Shallcrass Report" after the prime author, has sought to provide further policy directions for non-formal education. The theme of social equity, so prominent in the Stella Maris (1985) report, was subsumed in wishy-

washy liberalism more typical of the 1970s. Armed with this strategic retreat, the Government was again able to marginalise adult education and ignore the claims of its more radical voices.

(b) Developments Within the Universities

In New Zealand the universities have long held a place of prestige and power in the provision of adult and continuing education. In particular, the university system has perceived university extension or centres for continuing education as their primary modes of dissemination of information or "connecting points" within the community (Williams, 1978). Noeline Alcorn, based at Auckland University, astutely summarises the difficulties in endeavouring to present a unified notion of continuing education:

> ...we have been aware of continuing contradictions and tensions not only between our practice and intent but between competing ideologies and theories, between the demands of community groups and university expectations, between programme areas that all claim priority status (1987, p.27).

The structures of each university have been established in line with the pattern of overall development of the University. (Bagnall, 1978, draws a picture of the parallels and differences between New Zealand and American patterns of university extension).

The Centre for Continuing Education, University of Waikato - Its Quest for Social Equity

A brief synopsis follows of the prevailing patterns of development of the Centre for the time period under analysis.

(a) Early Expansion

Established in 1971 as University extension and renamed later the Centre for Continuing Education, this unit was a significant milestone for a young university. The unit was perceived by the University's founding Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Don Llewellyn, as a primary mode for this University to become "regional" in its character.

The development of this enterprising Centre has resulted, in part at least, out of the vision of individuals who have contributed at crucial points. Norman Kingsbury, Assistant to the Vice Chancellor, was one such person. I have summarised below a number of key principles he espoused (1978) as fundamental to the role of continuing education in a university context:

1. University staff should rejoice in knowledge and want to share it and develop it through discussion with others. Sharing is a means of growth for us all. For education to have any real meaning it must be a means of liberation - a way of making ourselves the hero of our life instead of its victim.

2. Democracy rests on having an active, intelligent, informed participatory people.

3. Basic to the ideals of freedom and equality of opportunity is the idea that people must have the reality of choice available to them.

4. Education is an important tool for the equalization of opportunity. It can be used to foster elitism but can also be used to assist in overcoming the disadvantages experienced by many people because of their race, sex, economic situation, physical disability or geographical location. Universities have a responsibility to develop the social consciousness both of their own members and of the community at large.

5. Universities need a broad base of community support if they are to continue to fulfil their traditional role.

6. University members have a great deal more to learn from members of the community in a number of fields than many of us have realised in the past.

Kingsbury envisaged these principles to be the basis for broad policy for this Centre. Above all, continuing education was about people gaining control over their lives. According to Kingsbury, "its existence is not a means to satisfy the labour market. It is a constant affirmation that people count in their own right" (1978, p.70). Those familiar with the strong egalitarian strain in British and European adult education will recognise in Kingsbury's points the influence of Richard Tawney and Douglas Cole.

The Centre's early work was pre-occupied with growth and expansion, particularly with regard to regional provision. While the Centre's 1977 Annual Report states that "the Centre no longer sees growth as its primary objective"(p.1), the reality was one of continued expansion. The "provide or perish" philosophy permeated these early days and is sustained in current times as user-pays looms over the shoulders of centre staff.

The middle class bias of the majority of the Centre's offerings was ackowledged early by its staff. Chris Horton's (1976) study of participants within the Hamilton-based programmes confirmed Boshier's earlier research that a disproportionate number of participants were women from a middle class background. Further, there were few Maori people.

(b) Consolidation and retrenchment

During the 1980-85 period the Centre demonstrated greater diversification with targetted programs for trade unionists, specialist courses for Maori, and involvement in prison education. At the same time it fought battles externally with national politics and politicians and internally to sustain resources at current levels. As a staff member throughout this period I know how draining the continued uncertainty was as we invested large amounts of energy to convince the University hierarchy and national political figures of the probable effects of retrenchment.

(c) Divergent Goals

From 1985 to the present, the Centre's provision has moved systematically into credit programs while trying simutaneously to sustain a community program in an increasingly cost conscious environment. The move towards accreditation is not surprising. In harsh economic times, people want "proof" of participation and the comparative advantage of credentials in a shrinking job market. Parallel with the demand for credit for learning is the diminution of volunteerism (especially among women, the traditional supplier of cheap or free labour) as a viable form of life enrichment.

In a review of the Centre's activities conducted in 1989, the reviewers stated "the Centre had limited resources spread over a very wide range of programmes" (Ward, 1989, p.2). The Centre continued to assume new responsibilities without shedding any of its existing activities. In 1988, because Centre staff had an intricate knowledge of regional networks and of difficulties faced by learners away from major learning institutions, the University required the Centre to become increasingly engaged in the provision of distance education. In a clear understatement, the Ward Report pointed to the tension between "regular" provision of continuing education and the demands of distance education:

> A major policy decision will therefore have to be taken as to what proportion of its resources the University intends to place into Distance Education and the Centre. It will also be necessary to determine priorities within Distance Education/Continuing Education (1989, p.5)

I argue that the "choice" has implications for the achievement of social equity goals.

Social Equity in Practice

The platform for social equity had been set by Kingsbury's vision, by a realisation among reflective practitioners of the need to penetrate beyond its traditional middle-class clientele, and increasingly by changes within New Zealand society itself. A central focus for this was the renaissance in Maori language, culture, and social and political aspirations. This began in the 1970s and flourished in the 1980s. Maori people asserted their fundamental rights for education, and not necessarily a form of education advocated by Pakeha [9].

Although much of the Centre's provision in the 1970s was "adaptive", and continued to be, Kingsbury's vision of an alternative provided a platform for greater emphasis on social equity. This was complemented with a deliberate policy of recruiting staff with a social commitment, in particular, staff whose own interests reflected those being articulated by educationally disempowered groups within the wider society.

In 1981, notwithstanding resource pressures, the University Council, on the recommendation of the Centre's staff, approved a policy of positive discrimination in favor of under-represented groups. In effect, the Centre began to follow a modified allocation

policy. This was not pursued without difficulty. In the 1983 Annual Report, the Director, David Guy, observed that "inadequate staffing resources were available to implement the policy at the target level of ten per cent of all programmes. Time is required to develop contacts and relationships among proposed groups" (p.30). Yet despite demands from traditional university extension clients for relatively mainstream provision, progress was made.

Major domains for the achievement of equity have been in rural education, women's studies, continuing education for Maori, worker and trade union education, penal education and education for the elderly. While these areas of focus are mentioned as if they exist as separate entities, the reality is that there has been considerable overlap. For example, a women's workshop on Pakeha Women and Racism might be part of an on-going development towards consciousness raising.

Social Equity for Maori

Space does not permit treatment of all the domains in which the Centre has sought to redress inequalities. However, the University of Waikato, sited in the heartland of Maoritanga [10], has had a close link with the local tangata-whenua (people of the land) whose learning needs and interests have not been well catered for in schooling. The Centre has been conscious of historical alienation of Maori by Pakeha institutions and has endeavoured to work alongside Maori to meet their adult learning agendas. In particular, the reinstatement of te reo Maori (Maori language) by Maori as of highest priority in Maori community development has had an impact in terms of Centre provision. Since 1974 a Certificate in Maori Studies has been offered in many rural areas of the University's region; at the time of writing the Certificate is available in eight separate localities, including Hamilton.

The Certificate in Maori Studies

The Certificate is a three year, degree credit, part-time program invoving two courses a year, one focussing on Maori language, the other on Maori culture. Participants are enrolled as regular university students, although no formal schooling or entrance qualifications are required. In brief, it may be likened to a North American associate degree. Significantly, the program is taught regionally with classes up to seven or eight hours drive from the University. Although introduced in 1974, the number enrolled in the Certificate has expanded enormously during the 1980s.

While many have completed the Certificate, others take only some of the courses. A number of participants are Pakeha, for it is advantageous in prrofessions like teaching to learn Maori, but the majority of participants are Maori with very limited previous formal education; many have the equivalent of only two or three years high school.

What has been the significance of this Certificate in terms of social equity? Several points can be made:
First, at the level of access the University has taken the program to the people in the settings in which they feel most comfortable, their own districts.
Second, the Certificate provides a first point of contact for a significant number of Maori who have for the most part remain fearful and sceptical of Pakeha orientated learning institutions. The program can act as a bridge towards more advanced study at the University. Thus, participants develop confidence that they can succeed in a pakeha system.
Third, the existence of the program itself legitimates the study of Maori as a valid form of knowledge and as this is a credit program it does not suffer the loss of status often associated with non-credit extension courses.
Fourth, many Pakeha, myself included, have completed the Certificate. Thus, the program offers a rare opportunity for the two cultures to intermingle in contexts where the Pakeha, for a change, will normally feel at a disadvantage.
Fifth, the delivery mode is empathetic to Maori customs. For example, cultural papers are taught on a face-to-face basis at regional hui [11], the venue of which rotates around different tribal areas. Hence, participants practice and apply what they learn in the natural setting.
Sixth, over the course of time, several of the graduates have returned to the program as tutors, thus providing role models and evidence that university study is not necessarily irrelevant to their daily lives.

Nevertheless, problems associated with the programme remain. In the Centre's 1985 Annual Report, the following remark is made:

> It appears that within the wider University there is little awareness or appreciation of this unique programme. The Certificate is of considerable educational importance. It is alternatively delivered into a range of communities, attracts predominately non-traditional students, and contributes significantly to the growth of the University's roll (p.39).

The continued viability of the Certificate has relied on the teaching leadership of the Maori Department. Unfortunately, the resources given to the Maori Department have not been sufficient to meet on-going demand. It would appear that the University is not prepared to fully resource the Maori Department; this has a flow on effect to the Centre, thus placing staff in the awkward position of being seen to choose one request over another.

Another feature of this program which has been problematic for the University has been the nature and load of administration. As the delivery of the Certificate has not conformed to normal practice, it has produced a number of idiosyncratic "one-off' administrative tasks which have strained relations internally. Typically, the Centre staff have acted as intermediaries who interpret for participants University red-tape in plain English (or Maori) and explain the rationale for procedures. Rhetoric about institutional flexibility is certainly put to the test.

The success of the Certificate has prompted other comparable degree credit programs for special groups. In 1981, the Centre, having earned a national reputation for its innovative work in adult education, established its own Certificate in Continuing Education for people working with adults. In recent years it has considerably expanded its certificate provision including one in Rarotongan Maori and Samoan. It has also facilitated developments in whakamana tangata (interpersonal skills, taught from a more indigenous perspective), Labor and Trade Union Studies, and General Studies. New certificate proposals, to be developed in conjunction with polytechnics, are also in the pipeline.

As the Centre enters into yet another expansive era, the same warnings of old echo. The University has developed a habit of seeding new ventures through the Centre without sufficient resources, thus straining already overworked people. In this environment carefully established networks which enable developmental work to occur are vulnerable. The "community development" approach assumed by staff, which has enabled them to be effective workers with minority and "disadvantaged" groups, is in danger of being cast aside for credit counting via distance education.

Implications for Future Action

The Certificate in Maori Studies provides a model for "mainstream agencies," such as a university continuing education unit, to work effectively with minority or non-traditional groups. The conception and implementation of this programme did not occur in a vacuum but only after trust was established between Centre personnel and local Maori people.

The Certificate developed only after prior non-credit programs had been held and found by Maori to be credible and welcoming. As with much of the Centre's more "successful" enterprises, the developmental work was a necessary pre-requisite, not just a social nicety in advance of the credit gaining certificate. I argue strongly that such work cannot be fruitful either for the community or the institution if it is undertaken hurriedly by staff pre-occupied in translating conversations or randomised meetings into numbers in classrooms. Institutions need to be prepared to fund investigative and preparatory work to make programs developed with minority groups feasible.

The current economic and social climate framed by the "new right" ideology equates education as a commodity to be sold: as a private good to be paid for by the individual; available to everyone, providing one can pay the price (Grace, 1990; Lauder, 1990; Middleton, 1990). As previously mentioned, the fees for students in New Zealand universities have risen sharply [12], the effects on the marginalised student will take its toll, despite a set of compensatory provisions targeted for those "who cannot afford to pay". Since universities are still alien sites of learning for many people, the adoption of a regime of user-pays (more) will act, from the adult students' perspective, as yet another barrier to participation (Cross, 1982).

The Certificate in Maori Studies sits at the centre of gravity in terms of the tension identified in the 1989 Ward Report between the Centre's traditional non-credit programmes and the escalating expansion into accreditation via distance education. As the University's first distance education enterprise it has triggered other distance education innovations by the institution; as a program geared towards the education of New Zealand's indigenous group, it has been a trailblazer. As noted in the Review, the Centre "has taken a leading role in the development of a bicultural approach to programme planning, in the spirit of the Treaty of Waitangi" (p.3).

The future of this Certificate, in a wider sense, is linked to the societal contradiction between the ideologies of free market enterprise and of social equity. On the one hand the Centre wishes to continue its commitment to social equity exemplified by the Certificate; on the other, market liberalism demands that such programs be "purchased" at the "affordable" price. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the University upholds the exhortations of the Ward Committee:

> The Committee endorses the opinion of the Centre that income generation and enhancing access to tertiary education are virtually mutually exclusive objectives and that any requirements for considerable income generation for some of its work would require a revision or weakening of its objectives (p.6).

A Reconceptualisation of Social Change

In terms of the typology formulated by Law and Sissons, the Certificate of Maori Studies fits most comfortably into the allocatory sector as it is "targeted" primarily towards Maori groups in New Zealand society. But while there is no doubt that the Certificate programme fits into "mainstream" provision, it does have many of the characteristics described by Law and Sissons (1985a, 1985b) as indicative of liberating education.

Since its inception, this credit program has paralleled dramatic changes within New Zealand society and, more particularly, the renaissance of Maori people for their language and cultural identity. While Maori radicals, such as Donna Awatere (1982) and Ranginui Walker (1985), have espoused a separate education system to be controlled by Maori for Maori, a "quiet radicalising" has been apparent within a Pakeha dominated institution. The Certificate has enabled Maori to grasp the opportunity to express their cultural heritage in ways empathetic to the goal of self-determination, as recognised within the Treaty of Waitangi document. Certainly, access for Maori has been accentuated as the program has expanded into an increasing number of localities.

Control, while still invested in Pakeha authorities at the University of Waikato, has been sensitively exercised. Further, there has been a deliberate policy within the Centre to recruit maori staff to administer the program. Administrative procedures have been adopted which try to minimise student alienation and which are compatible with Maori etiquette. Curriculum, while adhering to

University demands for rigour, has been negotiated between the tangata whenua and the teaching staff, themselves Maori with strong tribal roots in the University's region. In other words, the Certificate is part of the cultural milieu which its students investigate.

Conclusion

Adult educators may find possibilities for social transformation in frameworks which do not promise much. The Certificate had no pretence to be a radicalising force. Yet, it would appear that social equity objectives are being fulfilled in a programme which straddles "mainstream" provision and "alternative" education. The problems, previously discussed, testify to the programme's contested nature. This struggle and contestation is related, in part at least, to the contradictory impulses which emanate from the prevailing economic and political context of New Zealand society. On the question whether radical social education is truly possible here, the jury is still deliberating.

Notes

1. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 between the indigenous Maori (then around 150,000 people) and the British Crown. It is currently perceived as the country's founding document and forms the basis for partnership between Maori and Pakeha and for the redress of past injustices.

2. "Rogernomics" is the unofficial label given to the economic policies of Roger Douglas, Minister of Finance, 1984-1989. These policies have been characterised by extensive privatization, sales of Government assets to help repay debt, and a general streamlining of the economy. For many formerly staunch Labour supporters these economic manoeuvres have been seen as a betrayal of Labour's traditional allegiance to the "working person" since one of the social consequences of Rogernomics has been increased unemployment.

3. In each sector of education - early childhood; primary; secondary; tertiary - the Government called for a report from an especially constituted "working party" before issuing its own official response. Tomorrow's Schools is the Government's blueprint for developments in the primary and secondary arena; Learning for Life is the document in which reforms in universities, polytechnics and colleges of education (formerly teachers' colleges) are recorded.

4. In New Zealand, universities tended to establish extension departments from which specialist teachers took out non-credit courses for the public to attend. In recent times several of these departments have now become centres for continuing education wherein a team of adult educators undertake "needs assessments" prior to the implementation of programmes.

5. Community Education Services arose in several small town communities as a base for adult educators to help people fulfil their learning needs.

6. The Rural Education Activities Programme (R.E.A.P.) was a package of resources allocated to rural communities throughout New Zealand, a surprising number of which happened to be in marginally held seats by the National Government. In each case an adult educator position - 13 throughout the country - was part of the package.

7. The National Council of Adult Education (N.C.A.E.) was the statutory body which advised the Minister of Education on the requirements of the field as well as providing this fragmented field with a focal point in terms of its publications and clearing house functions. It was severely cut back by the National Government in 1982 and abolished by the Labour Government in the late 1980s.

8. The New Zealand Association of Community and Continuing Education (N.Z.A.C.C.E.) has been an umbrella organisation for the field and is independent of government funding. It has acted as the political arm of the diverse field with mixed success.

9. The Maori term "Pakeha" is used to describe New Zealanders who are non-Maori of European origin. It meant "stranger" in its original sense.

10. Kingitanga, a major Maori movement, is based among the Tainui people who inhabit the Waikato and large sections of the University's region. Other major tribal groups, notably Arawa, Tu Wharetoa, Mataatua, and Ngati Porou, are also located in the University's region.

11. A hui is a meeting or gathering which can be a small scale informal affair or a more elaborate extended formal occasion based on a marae.

12. In 1989, student fees for a full-time programme rose from $512 to $1250 per year. Part-time students, such as those in the Certificate in Maori Studies, pay pro-rata tuition fees plus sundry other university related costs. Hence, adult students who are perhaps already marginal in terms of their participation and their social class and income level, find the added financial burden hard to carry.

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